# Message Text

#### CONFIDENTIAL

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INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 INR-04 NSC-05 NSCE-00 PM-03 PRS-01 PA-01 /033 W

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FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4115

INFO AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY ABU DHABI

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS

AMEMBASSY DOHA

AMEMBASSY JIDDA

AMEMBASSY KUWAIT

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOGADISCIO

AMEMBASSY SANA

AMEMBASSY TRIPOLI

CONFIDENTIAL ADDIS ABABA 3229

#### LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS TAGS: PFOR, ET, US

SUBJ: ERITREAN REQUEST FOR DIALOGUE

REF: STATE 115490

1. REFTEL, OF COURSE, AS SEEN FROM ADDIS, REPRESENTS AN IMPORTANT SHIFT IN USG POLICY TOWARDS ERITREANS. AS NEW POLICY IS IMPLEMENTED, I OFFER FOUR NOTES OF CAUTION:

A. THIS EMBASSY DOES NOT NECESSARILY SHARE ESTIMATE OF INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY THAT ERITREA WILL ACHIEVE INDEPENDENCE WITHIN 12-18 MONTHS, DE FACTO OR OTHERWISE. FOR CONFIDENTIAL

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ERITREANS TO ACCOMPLISH THIS, THEY WILL HAVE TO DEFEAT BULK OF ETHIOPIAN ARMY WHICH IS STILL FAR BETTER ARMED THAN ERITREANS ARE. THERE ARE SEVERAL REASONS WHY THIS IS NOT LIKELY BE EASY:

(1) DIRG HAS MADE IT VERY CLEAR THAT EPMG HAS NO INTENTION OF GIVING UP ON ERITREA.

- (2) ARMY HAS SHOWN NO PROPENSITY FOR OFFENSIVE ACTION, BUT IT HAS DEMONSTRATED A VERY CONSIDERABLE CAPACITY FOR HOLDING ON. AT SUCH TIME AS ISOLATED, OUTLYING GARRISONS ARE PICKED OFF BY ERITREANS OR ABANDONED BY ETHIOPIANS AND ARMY IS CONCENTRATED IN ASMARA, MASSAWA, ASSAB AND PERHAPS ONE OR TWO OTHER TOWNS, SO LONG AS THEY CAN BE RESUPPLIED, THEY ARE GOING TO BE VERY DIFFICULT TO DISLODGE, AND IF WORST CAME TO WORST COULD EVEN HOLD ERITREANS RESIDENT IN SAY ASMARA, HOSTAGE AGAINST CONTINUED INSURGENT ACTION.
- (3) MEANWHILE, EPMG IS TRAINING TWO NEW DIVISIONS, ARMING THOUSANDS OF MILITIA WHO MAY NOT NECESSARILY GO TO WAR IN ERITREA BUT CAN FREE ARMY TROOPS ELSEWHERE FOR DUTY IN ERITREA, AND IS OBTAINING LARGE QUANTITIES OF WEAPONS. ALL THIS ACTIVITY STRONGLY SUGGESTS TO US THAT EPMG WILL MAKE MAJOR EFFORT HOLD ON TO ERITREA.
- (4) ERITREA IS SUBJECT ON WHICH ETHIOPIANS IN GENERAL USUALLY AGREE. ITS RETENTION AS PART OF ETHIOPIA IS BY NO MEANS SOLELY ON EPMG POSITION.
- B. REFTEL MAKES ONLY PASSING REFERENCE TO FACT THAT ERITREAN POLICITAL MOVEMENTS ARE SPLIT THREE WAYS. WHILE THERE APPARENTLY IS SOME DEGREE OF MILITARY COOPERATION, SUCH IS NOT YET CASE WITH POLITICAL CONFIDENTIAL

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LEADERSHIP. UNLESS WE ARE PREPARED TALK WITH ALL THREE, WE RISK BEING IDENTIFIED WITH WRONG HORSE AT SOME POINT IN TIME IN FUTURE. WE SUSPECT OUR CHANCES OF TALKING WITH MARXIST EPLF ARE SLIM INDEED AND WOULD NOT BE VERY FRUITFUL.

C. WE HAVE NOT HITHERTO BEEN IN BUSINESS OF DEMONSTRATING THAT USG IS SYMPATHETIC TO PLIGHT OF ERITREAN PEOPLE, WHICH READS TO US AS SYMPATHY FOR ERITREAN INSURGENCY AS IT WILL ALSO BE READ BY ARAB STATES SUPPORTING ERITREANS AND AFRICAN NATIONS THAT SUPPORT CONCEPT OF TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY. IF BY "PLIGHT" WE MEAN HUMANITARIAN ASPECTS OF INSURGENCY, WE SHOULD MAKE THIS DISTINCTION CAREFULLY.

D. WE FEEL CONSTRAINED TO REPEAT THAT ERITREANS SUCH AS OSMAN SALEH SABBE MAY VERY WELL PUBLICIZE THEIR CONTACTS WITH USG REPS FOR THEIR OWN PURPOSES. GIVEN EPMG FIXATION ON ERITREA, WE DO NOT QUITE

SHARE DEPT'S OBSERVATION THAT FUTURE US-ETHIOPIAN RELATIONS HOWEVER LOW-LEVEL THEY MAY BE NOW ARE NOT LIKELY TO BE AFFECTED BY OCCASIONAL CONVERSATIONS WITH ERITREAN INSURGENTS SHOULD THEY BECOME KNOWN. ETHIOPIAN SENSITIVITY ON MATTERS ERITREAN WAS ONCE AGAIN DEMONSTRATED SEVERAL DAYS AGO WHEN BRITISH AMBASSADOR WAS CALLED IN BY FONMIN WHO BELABORED HIM OVER ARTICLES BY COLIN LEGUM AND WILLIAM LEE (STATE 105980 AND ADDIS ABABA 2945) THAT SUGGESTED INTER ALIA THAT EPMG WAS WILLING MAKE DEAL OVER FUTURE OF ERITREA.

2. IN CONNECTION WITH 1(C) ABOVE, IN RESPONDING TO EMBASSY KHARTOUM'S REQUEST FOR CONSIDERATION OF AN EXPRESSION OF USG POLITICAL SUPPORT FOR SUDAN IN REGIONAL CONTEXT (KHARTOUM 1731-NOTAL), I HOPE THAT IF DEPT CHOOSES DO SO, ANY SUCH EXPRESSION WILL DIVORCE CONFIDENTIAL

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US FROM SUDANESE POSITION VIS-A-VIS ERITREA AND SUDAN'S INTEREST IN RED SEA SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS. TIENKEN

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# Message Attributes

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